

# PEKING REVIEW

40

October 5, 1973

北  
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報

## Study Hard and Continue to Advance

— National Day editorial by "Renmin Ribao,"  
"Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

Chairman of Chinese Delegation  
Chiao Kuan-hua's Speech at U.N.  
General Assembly Session

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## The Nation Celebrates 24th Anniversary Of the People's Republic of China

**T**HE people throughout China warmly celebrated on October 1 the 24th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic.

National Day this year came at a time when the Tenth Party Congress, a congress of historic significance, had just concluded. Greatly inspired by the excellent situation both at home and abroad, the masses were all the more joyous in their celebrations. A revolutionary atmosphere full of militant unity and vigour prevailed everywhere.

In Peking, Party and state leaders joined the masses in gala parties held in the main parks on this red-letter day.

The capital was in a festive mood. The five-starred national flag fluttered over the Tien An Men Square. A huge portrait of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, hung in the middle of the Tien An Men Gate. On the eastern and western flanks of the square stood the huge portraits of Marx, Engels,

Lenin and Stalin. To the south, in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes, was a huge portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Giant slogans on the square read: "Celebrate the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!" "Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!" "Workers of all countries, unite! The proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world, unite!" "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and resolutely fulfil the militant tasks set forth by the Tenth Party Congress!"

Over half a million people in the capital took part in the celebrations in the Working People's Palace of Culture, the Chungshan Park, the Summer Palace and other recreational centres. Films and theatrical and sports performances were given in the city's major cinemas, theatres and gymnasiums.

Joining the masses in the gala parties in various parks were Party

and state leaders Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, Wang Hung-wen, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Teh-sheng, Chang Chun-chiao, Hua Kuo-feng, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh, Wang Tung-hsing, Li Hsien-nien, Yao Wen-yuan, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Chen Yun, Li Fu-chun, Teng Hsiao-ping, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Kuo Mo-jo, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Fu Tso-yi, Teng Tai-yuan and Hsu Teh-heng.

Wei Kuo-ching, Hsu Shih-yu, Chen Hsi-lien, Wu Kuei-hsien and Saifudin spent National Day with holiday-makers of various nationalities in Nanning, Nanking, Shenyang, Sian and Urumchi respectively. Chen Yung-kuei who was in Lanchow at the time joined the workers, peasants and soldiers there in their jubilant celebrations.

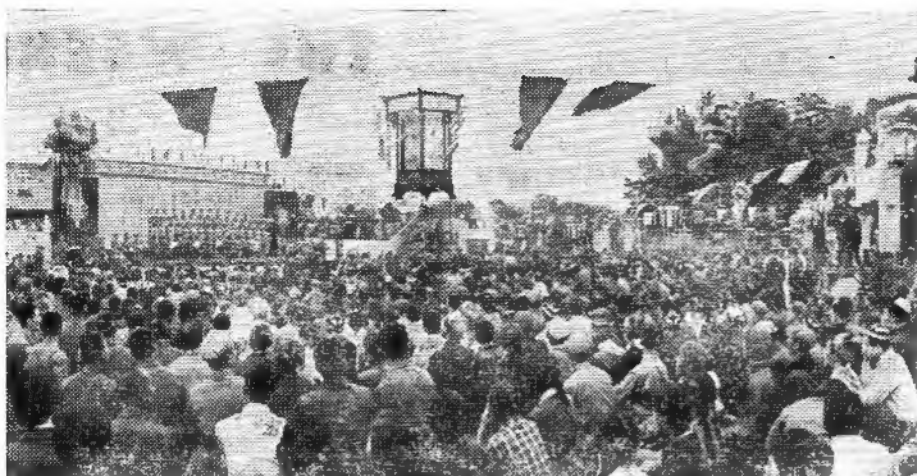
Over 5,000 foreign guests from more than 80 countries and regions took part in Peking's celebrations. Among them were: Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk; Samdech Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Penn Nouth; Ieng Sary, Special Envoy of the Interior Part of Cambodia; Thakin Ba Thein Tin, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma; Jusuf Adjitorop, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia; Le Van Luong, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; friends from the five continents, diplomatic envoys and officials of various countries in Peking and foreign experts who are helping China with its construction.

The gala celebrations demonstrated the monolithic unity of the Chinese people of all nationalities under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Taking part in the capital's garden parties were representatives of workers and commune members



National Day holiday-makers in Peking hail the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.





Celebrations in a Peking park.

from over 200 rural people's communes on Peking's outskirts, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Peking workers' militia, students, intellectuals and educated young people who have settled in the countryside, Peking residents, minority peoples from the border regions as well as compatriots from Taiwan Province and Hong Kong and Macao, and overseas Chinese.

Some 400 amateur and professional cultural troupes entertained the holiday-makers with programmes of some 1,400 items, mostly creations of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Present at the festivities were also Members and Alternate Members of the Party Central Committee currently in Peking; Members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; responsible members of the various departments under the C.P.C. Central Committee; leading members of the departments under the State Council; leading members of the various general departments, services and arms of the P.L.A. and those of the Peking Units and Peking Garrison; responsible members of the C.P.C. Peking Municipal Committee and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee; representatives of model workers and peasants and combat heroes, advanced workers and educated youth who have settled in the rural areas; patriotic

personages and personages from scientific, technical, educational, cultural, art, health and sports circles.

On the evening of September 30, the Foreign Ministry gave a reception for the distinguished foreign guests, foreign experts and diplomatic envoys and officials. Premier Chou En-lai toasted all invited to the function.

The same evening, the International Liaison Department under the C.P.C. Central Committee feted comrades of Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and organizations and other foreign friends in Peking.

The General Office of the State Council on the evening of September 29 gave a reception to welcome compatriots from Taiwan Province, Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese and naturalized Chinese in foreign countries who had come to take part in National Day celebrations and pay visits.

Another reception was given on the evening of October 1 by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries in honour of foreign friends from friendly organizations and cultural, art, sports and trade circles as well as well-known personages.

### Organize the Militia Well

*Renmin Ribao* and *Jiefangjun Bao* published on September 29 a joint editorial "Organize the Militia Well" to mark the 15th anniversary of Chairman Mao's call to "organize con-

tingents of the people's militia on a big scale."

Fifteen years ago that day, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize contingents of the people's militia on a big scale." He also said that the militia "is a labour, educational and sports organization as well as a military organization."

The leading article noted: "It is an important component of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war to organize people's militia contingents on a big scale and establish combined armed forces of the field army, local army and people's militia. During the bygone war years, the people's militia gave meritorious service for the victory of the revolutionary wars by actively joining the army, supporting the front and consolidating the rear. The people's militia after nationwide victory has made new contributions in defending China's coasts and borders and smashing armed invasion by imperialism, revisionism and reaction. No matter how arms and technology develop, man will always remain the factor that decides the outcome of a war. The people's militia will still have an important strategic role in future wars against aggression. If we make everyone a soldier and wage a people's war, we will make it hard for any aggressor to move an inch in China. This is what imperialism fears most."

"Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line," the editorial said, "the militia is an important force in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Practice shows that the militia can play an important role in the socialist revolution in ideological, political and economical spheres, in suppressing reactionary classes at home, thwarting enemy sabotage, safeguarding public security and protecting state property and the people's interests. It is a shock brigade in production that has actively contributed to socialist construction."

It stressed: "At present, an excellent situation prevails at home and abroad. The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China called on us to follow the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings: 'Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people' and 'Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony.' We must maintain high vigilance and be fully prepared against any war of aggression that imperialism may launch, particularly against a surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. In order to better fulfil the militant tasks set forth by the Tenth Party Congress and strengthen preparedness against war, the whole Party, the whole army and the whole people must join efforts to organize the militia well."

The editorial was reprinted by other newspapers together with reports on the militia contingents with workers as the main body, which have grown in strength in Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin.

### Greetings to New-Born Guinea-Bissau Republic

A new country — the Republic of Guinea-Bissau — in western Africa was born on September 24. The Chinese Government and people have extended warm congratulations to its people on the occasion.

On September 30, Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, sent a message of congratulations to Luis Cabral and Francisco Mendes, the new republic's President of the Council of State and Chairman of the Council of Commissioners of State respectively. The message read in part: "The birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a momentous victory won by her people in their long and persistent armed struggle waged under the leadership of the African Party for Independence of

Guinea and Cape Verde against imperialism and colonialism and represents a new milestone in the struggle for the national liberation of Guinea-Bissau."

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei the same day sent a message to Victor Saude Maria, Commissioner of State for External Relations of the new-born republic, extending his congratulations to his Guinea-Bissau counterpart while informing him of the decision of the Government of the People's Republic of China to recognize the new republic.

*Renmin Ribao* on October 1 in one of its leading articles greeted the occasion.

Since 1963, the paper wrote editorially, the Guinean-Bissau people, under the leadership of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, have launched a hard and bitter struggle and liberated more than two-thirds of the nation's territory embracing one half of the population. The founding of the new republic was proclaimed at the very hour of the great victory of the armed struggle.

"The republic founded by the people of Guinea-Bissau in the course of their armed struggle," the editorial went on, "is a powerful support to the people of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia and Spanish Sahara who are fighting for national liberation.

"However, imperialism and colonialism are not reconciled to their defeat in Africa. The assassination of Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, by international imperialism and the Portuguese colonialist aggressor last January represented the frenzied desperation of the enemy. The Portuguese colonialists will surely carry out frantic sabotage and harassment against the new-born Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Neo-colonialism of all shades and hues and expansionism are intensifying their aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying against the African countries. Nevertheless, all this can only arouse stronger indignation among the people of

Guinea-Bissau and other African countries who will carry the struggle against imperialism and colonialism through to the end."

The editorial expressed the belief that the people of Guinea-Bissau will win greater victories through strengthening their unity, heightening their vigilance and persevering in armed struggle.

### Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations: 1st Anniversary

Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka on September 29 exchanged messages of greetings on the occasion of the first anniversary of the normalization of relations between China and Japan. They expressed wishes for further strengthening of the neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries which had developed on the basis of the China-Japan Joint Statement and for constant development of the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira also exchanged messages of greetings the same day.

The China-Japan Friendship Association on the evening of September 28 gave a grand reception, attended by more than 700 Chinese and Japanese personages from all walks of life, to mark the anniversary.

President of the China-Japan Friendship Association Liao Cheng-chih, the first speaker at the reception, reviewed the development of the

(Continued on p. 22.)

### Announcement

It has been agreed upon through consultations that Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, United States Secretary of State and Assistant to the U.S. President for National Security Affairs, will visit the People's Republic of China from October 26 through October 29, 1973.

# Study Hard and Continue to Advance

## — In Celebration of 24th Anniversary of Founding of People's Republic of China

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

**I**NSPIRED by the Party's Tenth National Congress, a congress of unity and victory, the people of all nationalities in our country are celebrating the 24th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China full of revolutionary pride.

The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a congress of historic significance. The people throughout the country are heartily acclaiming it, conscientiously studying the congress documents and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and indignantly denouncing the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, and they resolutely support the new Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Everywhere our great motherland presents a lively picture of revolutionary unity and struggle.

The documents adopted at the Tenth Congress are a fighting programme for the whole Party, army and people. We must study these documents well and at the same time study relevant works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. Only thus can we fully recognize the excellent situation at home and abroad, profoundly understand the basic experience gained in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggle to shatter the Lin Biao anti-Party clique, and see still more clearly our orientation, namely, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the tasks involved. We must unremittingly promote such study by the cadres and the masses and strive to fulfil the tasks set forth at the Tenth Congress.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The Tenth Congress stressed that special attention must be paid to the Party's basic line and policies reaffirmed at the Ninth Congress and that it is necessary to continue to act on

the call issued at the Ninth Congress: "Unite to win still greater victories." The Party's basic line formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism states: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." The Ninth Congress issued the call to unite precisely for the purpose of implementing the basic line, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and uniting the people throughout the country to win still greater victories under the leadership of the proletariat. The Tenth Congress fully affirmed the correctness of the line of the Ninth Congress, paid special attention to summing up the experience of the tenth struggle between the two lines and called on us to adhere to the principles of "three dos and three don'ts" put forward by Chairman Mao ["Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"]. The line of the Tenth Congress is therefore a continuation of the line of the Ninth Congress. In studying the documents of the Tenth Congress, it is essential to grasp the line, which is the key



link. In considering the line, we must deal with the basic line. Our struggle against Liu Shao-chi and then Lin Piao boils down to the question of whether to uphold the Party's basic line or to change it. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has smashed the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and achieved great victories. But the struggle centring on whether to uphold or to change the Party's basic line does not end here; it will continue for a long time to come. We should study the Party's basic line constantly and repeatedly and must never forget it.

In studying the documents of the Tenth Congress, we should grasp their main points. We should study the analysis of the era and the situation made by the congress, fully recognize the necessity of carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the great victories it has won, discern the present-day manifestations of the basic world contradictions analysed by Lenin, perceive that the present international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the measures necessary for the consolidation of this dictatorship, strengthen our concept of preparedness against war and be on guard against the outbreak of an imperialist world war and particularly against surprise attacks by social-imperialism. We should study Chairman Mao's teaching that **going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle**, understand the characteristics and laws of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines under socialism and carry on the struggle actively and correctly. We should study the principle of combining the old, middle-aged and young, understand the far-reaching significance of the strategic measure of training millions of revolutionary successors and create conditions for the growth of fresh revolutionary forces. We should study the question of strengthening Party building, recognize that the most essential thing about the Party's centralized leadership is leadership through a correct ideological and political line, and help Party committees grasp major issues more consciously; we must pay great attention to the superstructure and warmly support newly emerging things of socialism; we should know that one of the basic experiences we have accumulated is reliance on the masses, and we should bring the enthusiasm of the masses into full play and cherish it. All these are major issues in the two-line struggle which are repeatedly discussed in the documents of the Tenth Congress, and they are theoretical and practical questions on which we must be clear in order firmly to implement the Party's basic line. So we must study hard to understand them thoroughly.

We should use the documents of the Tenth Party Congress as a weapon to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and the rectification of the style of work. We should make full use of Lin Piao as a teacher by negative example, denounce his counter-revolutionary crimes, criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook, and educate the masses in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. We should keep to the general orientation of the struggle, make a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions and carry out the Party's proletarian policies in an all-round way. Using the momentum of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, we should mobilize the masses to grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and greet the Fourth National People's Congress with new victories.

Applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the documents of the Tenth Party Congress raise the rich practical experience of our Party, particularly its experience since the Ninth Congress, to the level of theory and incisively elucidate the Party's line, principles, policies and tasks and its organizational principles. We must use our brains and study diligently so as to understand the spirit and essence of these documents comprehensively and correctly. Leading bodies at all levels should set an example in this study. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: **Running study classes is a good method and many problems can be solved in them.** Recently, he again pointed out: **It is necessary to run the study classes for worker-peasant-soldier cadres well, with classes lasting a term of three months and with four terms a year; they read books and at the same time take part in work.** We should carry forward the revolutionary style of study — integrating theory with practice — and do a good job in running the classes for studying the documents of the Tenth Congress and works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, so that the study of these documents will become a powerful motive force helping us to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line more consciously and promote struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts.

In the excellent situation now prevailing at home and abroad, it is most important for us to run China's affairs well. We must work hard to build China into a powerful socialist country, uphold proletarian internationalism and make a greater contribution to mankind. Under the guidance of the spirit of the Tenth Party Congress and the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by our great leader Chairman Mao, let us go all out and continue to advance!

# Chairman of Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-hua's Speech

*Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly and Vice-Foreign Minister, spoke at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on the afternoon of October 2. Full text of the speech follows.—“P.R.” Ed.*

Mr. President,

Since the 27th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, some notable events have successively taken place on the international arena. First, there was the cessation of the war in Viet Nam and Laos. Secondly, there were the talks held and agreements

concluded between the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. Thirdly, there was the convening of the conference on security and co-operation in Europe. In the meantime, the Third World has further awakened and grown in strength, and the African, Latin American and non-aligned countries held a series of important international conferences. What is the characteristic of the present world situation? Is the international situation really moving towards a general detente? This is a question in which people are interested. The Delegation of the People's Republic of China would like to state its views on this question and a number of other questions which the current session of the General Assembly is confronted with.

## First. What Is the Characteristic of the Present World Situation?

The Chinese Government has long held that our world is now going through a process of great turbulence, great division and great realignment. The basic contradictions in the world are all sharpening, and in particular the contradictions between imperialism and colonialism on the one hand and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other and the contradictions among the imperialist countries, especially those between the two superpowers. Although no new world war has broken out since World War II, local wars resulting from imperialist aggressions have never ceased. The great victory of the heroic Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has once again proved that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. A small nation can defeat a big one and a weak nation can defeat a strong one, so long as they dare to struggle, are good at struggle and persevere in struggle. It is not the people who fear imperialism; it is imperialism which fears the people. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. Now that the war in Viet Nam has ended, can it be assumed that the world will henceforth be tranquil? Obviously not. When the Korean war was ended in 1953, some people thought that no more gun-shots would be heard in the world. Not long afterwards, however, the Suez war broke out and then the Viet Nam war started. And even today, the war in Indochina has not stopped completely, for there is

still fighting in Cambodia. Tension in the Middle East has not relaxed in the least. The colonialists and racists are carrying out armed suppression against the African people, and the African people are developing armed resistance against them. The aggression, subversion, control and interference against countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America by the superpowers are continuing without end. A recent case in point is the military coup d'état in Chile. President Salvador Allende died a martyr at his post. We express profound condolences on his heroic death. At the same time, we hold one should not forget how harmful the absurd theory of so-called “peaceful transition” is to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people, a theory which has been advocated by another superpower. To dismember a sovereign country by armed force and to legalize and perpetuate the division of a country have also become a tendency on the part of the big powers in their attempt to dominate the world. In the economic field, the gap is widening between the rich and developed countries and the poor and developing countries, and even among the developed countries there exist many contradictions, and hence detente among them is far from being the case. The recent Fourth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries strongly condemned racism, Zionism, colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism and strongly demanded a change in

the present state of affairs in the world, demonstrating a further awakening of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. In a word, we consider that the characteristic of the present situation is one of great

disorder throughout the world and not tranquillity. And the main trend amidst this great disorder is that countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution.

## Second. Why Is There No Tranquillity in the World Today?

We have always held that all countries in the world, big or small, should be equal; that all countries, irrespective of their social systems, should establish normal state relations on the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence; and that international disputes should be settled peacefully on the basis of these principles without resorting to the use or threat of force. This should apply to relations between big powers, to relations between a big power and a small country, and all the more so to relations between a strong and a weak, or between a rich and a poor country. It was on these principles that China started to improve her relations with the United States and established diplomatic relations with Japan. In their joint communique issued in Shanghai, China and the United States further declared that they should not seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and were opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. The same principle was reaffirmed in the Sino-Japanese statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. In our view, the above-mentioned principles are the minimum criteria of equality of all countries in international relations and indicate the correct way to the relaxation of international tension.

As sovereign states, the United States and the Soviet Union are fully entitled to take measures they deem appropriate to improve and develop their bilateral relations. However, we cannot but point out that the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war signed by them goes far beyond the scope of bilateral relations. One may ask: Who has given them the right to enter into what they call "urgent consultations" in case of a dispute between either of the parties and other countries and even between any other two countries? The phrase about disputes which "appear to involve the risk of a nuclear conflict" is open to any interpretation, and their so-called "urgent consultations" are bound to be followed by actions dictated by their own interests. Does not this mean that they may interfere at will in the relations among all countries on the strength of the huge numbers of nuclear weapons in their possession? China absolutely will not go begging for nuclear protection from any country, nor is she afraid of nuclear threat from any country. But we feel duty bound to state our views on this matter since it concerns all the people of the world.

The signing of such an agreement by the Soviet Union and the United States is by no means accidental but is derived from the so-called principle which they agreed upon in 1972 that the Soviet Union and the United States have "security interests based on the principle of equality." What is meant by "security interests based on the principle of equality"? To put it bluntly, it means rivalry for world hegemony — wherever one goes, the other will do the same. What they have done is simply to wrap up this content in the form of an agreement.

In fact, this agreement is a mere scrap of paper. It contains no explicit undertaking on the non-use of nuclear weapons, still less does it envisage the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The U.S. Government was more frank when it stated that the agreement was only a general statement of policy which did not involve any particular positive actions that either side had to take, and pointed out that agreements were not always maintained and there was nothing self-enforcing about this document.

However, the Soviet leaders have made a great fanfare, lauding this agreement to the skies, alleging that it ushered in "a new era" in international relations and opened up "historical vistas for strengthening universal security as a whole," and that it was "indeed of historic importance for all mankind." They have their motives for so eulogizing the agreement. One may recall Khrushchov's famous remarks: "Even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration," and "we (the Soviet Union and the United States) are the strongest countries in the world, and if we unite for peace there can be no war. Then if any madman wanted war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off." In this way, if the Soviet Union could be bound together with the United States, would not the whole world have to cringe to them? However, in our view, things may not necessarily turn out that way.

It is not so easy for the Soviet Union to bind herself to the United States. Shortly after the signing of the agreement, the Soviet Union pressed forward with her underground nuclear tests and hastened the development of missiles with multiple warheads. The United States will not take this lying down. Why? Because the desperate struggle for nuclear superiority and world hegemony still goes on. The contention between the Soviet Union and the United States now extends all over the world. A vivid proof can be found in the re-

cent subversion of a government in Asia and another in South America. Their scramble is becoming increasingly fierce. This is the reason why there is no tranquillity in the world today. So, what peaceful co-existence is there to speak of? There is only a travesty of peaceful coexistence: the substance is coexistence in rivalry. But whether such coexistence can last is of course another question.

The Soviet leaders noisily proclaim that as a "socialist" state, the Soviet Union is the "natural and surest ally" of the developing countries. In the past, some people in China also believed this. Because they saw the Soviet Union as the homeland of the great Lenin and the Chinese revolution a continuation of the October Revolution. Therefore, how could the Soviet Union, as a socialist state, fail to give the developing countries wholehearted internationalist assistance? But since Khrushchov rose to power, thanks to the long and direct experience we gained as a result of the Soviet Union's demand for the establishment of a joint fleet in the China Sea, withdrawal of experts, tearing up of contracts, border intrusions, subversions, etc., we came to realize that this was not the case, and that what the Soviet Union practised was not internationalism, but great-power chauvinism, national egoism and territorial expansionism. Therefore, we will not blame those friends who have so far failed to see this for lack of experience. How can a socialist turn into an imperial-

ist? There is in fact nothing strange about it if one goes a little into the history of the international communist movement. Wasn't Karl Kautsky once a somewhat well-known Marxist? But he later betrayed Marxism and capitulated to imperialism. It was Lenin who passed the final historical verdict on Kautsky in his well-known pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. People can change, so can a state. It has changed, and what can you do about it?

Lenin pointed out: "We judge a person not by what he says or thinks of himself but by his actions." This applies to a state as well. What has the Soviet Government done to other countries in these years? This is clear to the broad masses of the people of Czechoslovakia, Egypt and Pakistan, to the people of Cambodia who are fighting dauntlessly, and to other peoples who have been subjected to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying. The actions of the Soviet Government have amply shown that it is "socialist in words, imperialist in deeds," as Lenin said.

The Soviet-U.S. agreement on the prevention of nuclear war cannot hoodwink many people or intimidate the peoples of the world, but can only arouse indignation, misgivings and disillusionment. The tide is mounting against the hegemonism and power politics practised by the superpowers.

### Third. Who Is Really Against Detente?

Shortly after the war in Viet Nam came to an end, the U.S. Government pronounced 1973 to be "the year of Europe." This was followed by the first stage of the conference on security and co-operation in Europe—a conference advocated by the Soviet Government for many years. All this indicates that Europe is the focus of contention between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and that the so-called European security conference is nothing but one of the forms of contention. Its proceedings showed, however, that it went far beyond the scope to which the two superpowers wished to confine it. At that conference, many countries stated pointedly that deeds and not empty promises are called for in the matter of security; that European security must be based on the safeguarding of national independence and sovereignty; that one must not become mentally disarmed and off guard simply because the European security conference has taken place; and that in order to guarantee European security, military blocs must be disbanded, foreign military bases dismantled, and foreign troops withdrawn, so that the relations between European countries may be established on the principles of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, complete equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Moreover, some countries pointed out that the security of the Mediterranean and the security of Europe were inseparable and that

there could be no security for Europe when the Mediterranean is under the armed threat of, and the contention by, the two superpowers. All this is tantamount to a direct blow at those who seek by means of this conference to consolidate the occupation of many European countries, which resulted from World War II or the events thereafter, and to proceed further to disintegrate Western Europe and dominate the whole of Europe. The European security conference is still going on. But judging from the proceedings of its first stage, it will further expose the ambitions of that superpower which seeks to divide and disintegrate Western Europe.

While stepping up her arms expansion and war preparations and her worldwide contention with the United States for spheres of influence, the Soviet Union is clamouring for "spreading the zone of relaxation to the whole world." Accordingly, she has lately picked up once again the long-ignored trash known as the Asian collective security system. This is most amusing. It reminds us of the American by the name of John Foster Dulles who, after the war in Indochina was brought to an end by the first Geneva conference in 1954, hastily rigged up the so-called Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which was directed against China and whose members were mostly non-Southeast Asian



countries. The Soviet Union is a European country and the chief of the Warsaw Pact alliance. Why should she be so eagerly concerned about the "collective security" of Asian countries? Has the ghost of John Foster Dulles gone to the Kremlin? Actually, would it not be less devious and more direct simply to expand the Warsaw Pact to Asia?

Lately, the Soviet leaders have tried to pin an additional label on China, namely "opponent of detente." As the Chinese saying goes, this is putting Mr. Chang's hat on Mr. Li's head. Since you say you are so anxious to relax world tension, why don't you show your good faith by doing a thing or two—for instance, withdraw your armed forces from Czechoslovakia or

the People's Republic of Mongolia and return the four northern islands to Japan?

We hold that imperialism means war. There is danger of war so long as imperialism exists. Today, when the various types of basic contradictions in the world are sharpening, the danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must be prepared and must not let themselves be misled by the temporary and superficial facade of detente. Only thus can we better strive for a bright future of the world. In the final analysis, the destiny of mankind is decided by the people in their hundreds of millions who persevere in struggle and unity, and not by the one or two superpowers.

## Fourth. The Cambodian Question

The Chinese Government resolutely denounces the U.S. Government for continuing to support in various ways the puppet regime in Phnom Penh and wantonly interfere in the affairs of Cambodia. The regime of the traitorous Lon Nol clique, which is now installed in Phnom Penh, was imposed on the Khmer people by the U.S. imperialists and their allies and has been illegal from its very inception. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole legal government of Cambodia. The People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia under its leadership have liberated over 90 per cent of Cambodia's territory with over 80 per cent of the population. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has been recognized by nearly 50 countries. The participants of the recent Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers have declared that the

Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the only legal government of Cambodia, and earnestly requested all countries which love peace and justice to give it formal recognition. This is a voice of justice. The Chinese Government holds that the continued usurpation by the traitorous Lon Nol clique of the seat in the United Nations is a contempt for all countries that uphold justice, for the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and for the United Nations itself. The Chinese Government firmly maintains that the present session of the General Assembly should take a decision immediately to expel the representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol clique from the United Nations and restore to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk its rightful seat in the United Nations.

## Fifth. The Korean Question

There are now before the General Assembly two draft resolutions on the Korean question—one sponsored by the United States, Britain, Japan and other countries, the other sponsored by Algeria, China and other countries. Regarding the former draft resolution, the Chinese Government considers that the position for retaining the United Nations command and the U.S. forces in south Korea and for the entry of both north and south Korea into the United Nations is unreasonable and contrary to the Joint Statement of North and South Korea issued on July 4, 1972, although it contains the positive element of dissolving the so-called "commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea."

The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question are long overdue. According to the provisions of the

Korean Armistice Agreement of July 1953, a high-level political conference for the settlement of the Korean question ought to have met within three months after the armistice agreement became effective. The conference was not held only because of the obstructions put up by the U.S. side at the time. Subsequently, the question was again discussed at the 1954 Geneva Conference. The then U.S. Secretary of State Mr. John Foster Dulles peremptorily rejected all reasonable proposals, thereby blocking once again a solution to the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The United States was then absolutely unwilling to withdraw its forces from south Korea. What could be done about it? Well, if you would not withdraw, we would. In 1958 the Chinese People's Volunteers unilaterally and unconditionally withdrew from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Consequently,

there are no foreign forces on one side in Korea, while large numbers of foreign forces, mainly U.S. forces, are stationed on the other side. This most unreasonable state of affairs cannot but constitute an obstacle to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

Is south Korea so lacking in national self-respect that it must rely on the support of foreign forces? Obviously, such a state of affairs cannot be tolerated by the people in south Korea. Subsequently, thanks to the initiative of President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a joint statement of north and south Korea on the independent and peaceful reunification of the country was issued on July 4, 1972, leading to the start of a dialogue between the north and the south. This was a big step toward the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves. With the issuance of this statement, the Korean Armistice Agreement signed 19 years ago, to a great extent, ceased to play the role it once had. The Koreans in the north and the south have themselves agreed upon refraining from committing armed provocations, big or small, and upon taking active measures for preventing incidents of unexpected military conflicts. Is this not the best guarantee for the maintenance of the armistice?

It is capacious to say that dissolution of the United Nations command and withdrawal of foreign forces would nullify the 1953 armistice agreement. It should be recalled that the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed between the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers on the one hand and the United Nations command on the other. According to that kind of reasoning, would not the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers mean that the Korean Armistice Agreement had long been nullified? Since the Chinese People's Volunteers could withdraw from

Korea, why cannot the foreign forces in south Korea under the signboard of the United Nations command do the same? The continued presence of the so-called United Nations command and of foreign forces in south Korea is at variance with the principle agreed on by the two sides in Korea that "reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference." In point of fact, it is the very presence of this outside force that has emboldened the south Korean authorities to reject a number of reasonable proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, thus causing the dialogue between the north and the south to bog down. The Kim Dae Jung incident which occurred not long ago has shown how abjectly the south Korean authorities depend upon foreign forces. In order that conditions may be created to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the United Nations command should agree to disband and all foreign forces stationed in south Korea should agree to withdraw.

As for the entry of both north and south Korea into the United Nations, this is plainly an attempt to legalize and perpetuate the division of Korea, which runs counter to the principle agreed upon between the north and the south that "great national unity should be promoted first of all as one nation, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and system." In his five propositions put forward on June 23 this year, President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has pointed out that the north and the south should not enter the U.N. separately and that if they want to enter the U.N. before reunification of the country is achieved, they should enter it as one state at least under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo after the confederation is enforced. This proposition is entirely reasonable and merits the sympathy and support of all countries that uphold justice.

## Sixth. The Question of Bangla Desh

At the time of the 26th Session of the General Assembly in 1971, the Soviet Union supported India in dismembering Pakistan by armed force. The General Assembly and then the Security Council adopted resolutions by overwhelming majorities calling for cease-fire, troop withdrawal and repatriation of prisoners of war by India and Pakistan. At its 27th Session in 1972, the General Assembly further adopted two interdependent resolutions calling for the repatriation of Pakistan prisoners of war and expressing the desire for the admission of Bangla Desh to the United Nations. It was not until August 28 this year that an agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians

was reached between India and Pakistan. This agreement has come much too late, but its ultimate conclusion is to be welcomed. The agreement reached is on paper, and there will have to be a process before it can be turned into reality. Complications may yet arise. The Chinese Government holds that the question of admitting Bangla Desh into the United Nations can be considered once the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council are implemented without qualification. But this can be done only after the thorough implementation of the U.N. resolutions, and definitely not before.

## Seventh. The Middle East Question

Although the two superpowers are both trumpeting about a general world trend towards detente, a tense stalemate of "no war, no peace" still prevails in the Middle East. When the Soviet Union dismembered Pakistan in 1971, no one said there was the risk of a nuclear war. Neither has anyone made a similar warning in connection with the current U.S. intervention in Cambodia. It is only in the Middle East that, at the mention of an attempt by Arab countries to repulse Israeli aggression and recover their lost territories, the air is filled with cries about a risk of nuclear war between the two superpowers. Why is this so? Because the situation of "no war, no peace" created and maintained by the two superpowers serves them best in their scramble for spheres of influence, oil resources and strategic positions in the Middle East. In appearance the two superpowers are each supporting one of the antagonistic sides, but in essence they are like two clay figurines which have been kneaded together and then remoulded, so that there is something of each

in the other. Take the case of the aggressor Israel. Can she be so unbridled in her truculence if she receives only supplies of American weapons but none of Soviet manpower? In our opinion, the so-called risk of a nuclear war has been deliberately fabricated to scare people. It is futile to count on the superpowers to bring about a settlement of the Middle East question. Nor will the situation be changed by any resolution adopted by the United Nations. The only way out is to act independently and rely on one's own efforts. China has never had anything to do with the Israeli Zionists. China firmly supports the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against Israeli Zionism. We believe that, so long as they uphold unity and persevere in struggle, the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, with the support of the people of the whole world, will certainly surmount all the difficulties on their road of advance, recover their sacred territories and regain their national rights.

## Eighth. The Question of Opposing Colonialism

An excellent situation prevails in Africa. In the past year, the African people have achieved a series of new victories in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and oppose racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Through their struggle, they have come to realize more and more the necessity of armed struggle and mutual support. The 10th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held last May issued the resounding call to "eliminate all forms of colonialism on the African continent." The conference documents fully manifested the unity and co-operation of the African countries and their militancy against the common enemies, as well as the determination of the African people in the territories which have not yet become independent to expand their armed struggle for national liberation. With imperialist and superpower support and connivance, the racist regimes and colonialist authorities in Africa are resorting to more insidious and brutal means in their desperate struggle to buttress their tottering rule. They have long refused to implement the U.N. resolutions which

reflect the just demands of the African people. What deserves special attention is that while the old-line colonialists are on the decline, neo-colonialists of different shades are trying to take their place by means of cunning and deceptive manoeuvres. The superpowers are sowing dissension among the African countries so as to fish in troubled waters. The African people are still faced with the task of a protracted, complicated and tortuous struggle. Africa belongs to the great African people. The Chinese people stand firmly by the African people. We resolutely support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Azania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Guinea-Bissau, Spanish Sahara and other regions in their just struggle for national liberation. We warmly hail and give recognition to the new-born Republic of Guinea-Bissau. We resolutely support the just struggles of all African countries against aggression, subversion and the sowing of discord by colonialism and neo-colonialism and in defence of state sovereignty and African unity. We are confident that the awakening African people will continue to win new victories in the course of their coming struggle.

## Ninth. The Question of Opposing Maritime Hegemony

The determined struggle for 200-nautical-mile maritime rights initiated by Latin American countries has won increasing support among the numerous small and medium-sized countries. Both the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the O.A.U. and the

Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held earlier this year, expressly declared that a coastal state is entitled to establish an exclusive economic zone or a zone of national jurisdiction with the maximum limit of 200 nautical miles.

And landlocked states are also entitled to share sea-bed and fishery resources. On this problem of maritime rights, the numerous small and medium-sized countries are waging a gigantic and vigorous struggle against the maritime hegemony of the superpowers. With a view of seeking hegemony on the seas and oceans, the superpowers are trying in vain to preserve the outdated law of the sea and are doing their utmost to restrict the territorial sea and scope of jurisdiction of all countries. They insist that the 3-nautical-mile or 12-nautical-mile rule for the territorial sea is sacred and inviolable, arguing that the expansion of the territorial sea and the zone of jurisdiction will narrow down the open sea. This is a bluff. What sacredness and inviolability! The 3-nautical-mile rule was a man-made stipulation, and so was the 12-nautical-mile rule. They reflect the reality of the time when the seas and oceans were controlled by colonialism and imperialism. What is there that is so sacred and inviolable? As to the assertion that the larger the territorial seas and the zones of jurisdiction, the smaller the open sea, the question must be asked: What is the open sea? The so-called open sea has in fact always been the "private sea" of a few strong naval powers. The numerous small and medium-sized countries have now stood up; they constitute the majority and demand a change in the so-called law of the sea, which is advantageous only to the imperialists. What fault can one find with this? In a proposal submitted by the Soviet Union and her allies to the U.N. Industrial Development Board on June 2, 1972, they said that "the sovereignty over the natural resources is depending to a great extent upon the capability of utilizing these resources by the industry of the developing countries. . . ." At the meeting of the Sea-Bed Committee held in Geneva on August 22, 1973, a Soviet representative said that the developing countries could not increase their catch even if they had a 200-nautical-mile zone, because they lacked the technical know-how, fishing capacity, etc. These statements simply mean that the greater the might, the greater the right. This is the logic of imperialism, pure and simple. Why are the superpowers so violently opposed to the position of the small and medium-sized countries for enlarging the territorial sea and the zone of jurisdiction? It is not difficult to see the underlying motive if only one takes a look at the contention between the United States and the Soviet Union for maritime hegemony in the Mediterranean, the Persian

Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean, the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean and their rivalry in setting up bases and plundering the fishing and sea-bed resources there. When the territorial sea and the zone of jurisdiction are enlarged, their "private sea" over which they act the overlords will contract. How can the superpowers not desperately oppose that? However, their opposition will eventually prove futile. So long as the numerous small and medium-sized countries are united by seeking common ground on major points while reserving differences on minor ones and persevere in tenacious and protracted efforts, their struggle against maritime hegemony is bound to triumph.

The struggle against maritime hegemony is an important aspect of the struggle waged by the numerous developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to protect national resources and develop the national economy. It is also a new focus in the current struggle against hegemonism. In other economic spheres, the developing countries are also more closely co-ordinating their actions and strengthening their unity in the struggle against exploitation, plunder, dumping and monopoly by imperialism and big-power hegemonism. The bilateral and regional economic co-operation of the developing countries is growing, and the various organizations of raw material-exporting countries are expanding. More and more developing countries have come to realize that in order to consolidate political independence, it is imperative to attain economic independence, and that in order to develop the national economy, it is imperative to rely on their own efforts and strengthen their mutual support and co-operation. It was by plundering and exploiting the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America that colonialism and imperialism accumulated their fortunes. Therefore, the people of these continents are fully entitled to demand repayment of this debt. However, in the light of China's own experience, they will never repay the debt and, what is more, they will create more difficulties for these countries which are defending their national independence and developing the national economy. It is futile to harbour any unrealistic notions about them. We must persist in opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. We must rely on ourselves, rely on the people, wage arduous struggle and exert sustained efforts. We believe that, by so doing, the developing countries will certainly become prosperous.

## Tenth. The Question of Disarmament

The Chinese Government has always stood for disarmament. But what we stand for is genuine disarmament, and not phoney disarmament, still less empty talk about disarmament coupled with actual arms expansion every day. At present, we face the

harsh fact that the superpowers are hawking disarmament, and the Soviet Union in particular is most energetic about it. Nearly every year she comes up with some sort of proposal on disarmament at the General Assembly. Last year, she boasted of the great signif-



icance of her agreement with the United States on the so-called limitation of strategic nuclear weapons. And this year, she is even more vehement in lauding the so-called epoch-making significance of the Soviet U.S. agreement on the prevention of nuclear war. Meanwhile, she has sanctimoniously proposed a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. This is Khrushchev's old ware, which has been peddled for more than a dozen years and has not deceived many people. How are military budgets to be assessed? To study this problem alone, a committee will have to be set up and work for many years. Can military budgets really be reduced? Anyway, nobody has ever seen this happen. We think it is better to stop this kind of empty talk, and stop it quickly. If you are really the "natural and surest ally" of the developing countries, you should come up to this rostrum and declare openly that your military aid to all developing countries which is used to resist foreign aggression is gratis and free of charge, that you will not be a merchant of death, and that although you have charged them previously, you will not press for the payment of debt and interest, especially not to do so in the case of the struggling Arab countries. Be forthright and simple! Declare publicly that you will cancel all the military loans, that there is no need for repayment and that you will let them be gone with the wind! Won't that be more practical?

What general disarmament? Actually, in the world today, it is the two superpowers that are engaged in an uncontrollable arms race. Their aim is nuclear superiority and the nuclear hegemony with which to dominate the world. To put it bluntly, any disarmament must first of all be the disarming of these two superpowers. But can this be realized? On this point, the U.S. Government is somewhat more candid than the Soviet Government. It admits that military expenditures cannot be reduced in the context of rivalry between the two hegemonic powers. As to the numerous small and medium-sized countries, the real problem they face is definitely not disarmament, but the strengthening of their necessary and independent defence capabilities. Even Western Europe is inadequate in defence capabilities. How much more so are the large number of small and medium-sized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America? What have they got to disarm? To talk about general disarmament in these circumstances is gibberish. If such proposals were really accepted, it would mean to ask the whole world to completely disarm itself in front of the two superpowers and allow itself to be ordered about.

The Chinese Government is in favour of convening a world conference on genuine disarmament. But there must be the necessary pre-conditions and clear aims for the conference. That is, all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers, the So-

viet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-weapon-free zones — for example, the Soviet Union should undertake obligations in respect of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America... and they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces, including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries. Only thus will it be possible for all countries, big and small on an equal footing, to discuss with equanimity and solve the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and other questions free from any threat of force.

Some people charge that China's position on the disarmament question is "either all or nothing." This is a distortion. One may ask: What difficulties are there for nuclear countries first of all to undertake the obligation, as the first step towards nuclear disarmament, that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-weapon-free zones? Is this not a truly effective first step towards the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons? But these disarmament-advocating "saints" would not even agree to undertake this minimum obligation. Does this not suffice to show that they are actually imperialists who persist in arms expansion and aggression, menacing the people of the world and aspiring to world hegemony?

Mr. President.

The People's Republic of China is taking part in the activities of the United Nations for the third year. We wish to say frankly that what we have experienced in the United Nations has caused us to become worried. Speeches are multiplying and resolutions piling up in the United Nations, yet it has not been able to look into matters which it ought to (for instance, the question of the prevention of nuclear war) and is impotent in the solution of many major world issues (for instance, the Middle East question). If things continue this way, what future is there for the United Nations? However, we are not disheartened. We believe that the present conditions in the United Nations should be changed and the Charter should be revised. How can the United Nations go on working in the same old way it did more than twenty years ago, when the world has already changed? The Third World has risen up. The United Nations must be able to give expression to the desires of the numerous small and medium-sized countries, truly give effect to the principle of the equality of all countries, big or small, and cease to be controlled by the superpowers and their small number of followers if it is to be worthy of its name. China is ready to work together with all countries which love peace and uphold justice for the achievement of this noble aim.

Thank you, Mr. President!

# Great Revolution in Astronomy

## — Commemorating Copernicus' Quincentenary

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**B**ORN 500 years ago this year, the great Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) revolutionized man's outlook on the universe with his theory that the earth and other planets revolve around the sun.

Chairman Mao points out in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*: "Throughout history, new and correct things have often failed at the outset to win recognition from the majority of people and have had to develop by twists and turns in struggle. Often correct and good things have first been regarded not as fragrant flowers but as poisonous weeds. Copernicus' theory of the solar system and Darwin's theory of evolution were once dismissed as erroneous and had to win through over bitter opposition."

In commemorating Copernicus today, it is important for us to review the history of the struggle between the heliocentric and the geocentric views on the universe. This will help us to persist in the materialist theory of knowledge and refute reactionary idealism.

The struggle between the materialist outlook and the idealist outlook on the universe has always been a central issue in the sharp struggle between new revolutionary forces and reactionary ecclesiastics in history.

In the 2nd century A.D., the Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy formulated the geocentric theory that the earth remains stationary in the centre of the universe, while the sun, the moon and stars move around the earth.

This was a subjective and artificial interpretation of superficial phenomena.

The Ptolemaic theory later had the support of medieval clergymen who used it to serve their own ends. The church which in feudal Europe was all-powerful in the government of the day incorporated this theory with the Bible, and the result was an

idealist outlook on the universe. It was to deceive the people. The sun, the moon and the stars, it asserted, all circle the earth. God created all this, and then created man "in his own image." Then God put man in the centre of the universe — on the earth.

According to this view, everything in the universe was God's creation and God's will was law. If so, what laws of the objective world could there be for man to study and explore? This antiquated outlook on the universe, therefore, became for a thousand years or so a most formidable obstacle in the path of man's correct cognition of the universe and his endeavours to develop natural science.

The predominance of this idealist outlook on the universe severely retarded the progress of natural science in Europe.

Though the discrepancy between the geocentric theory and the facts obtained through scientific observation was becoming increasingly glaring, for a long time before the 16th century this theory held sway because it upheld the divine right and the system of exploitation. It was Copernicus' heliocentric theory that dealt it the fatal blow.

### II

Copernicus was born in Torun, Poland, on February 19, 1473.

Europe was then passing through a period of transition from feudalism to capitalism, from the end of the 14th century to the 15th and 16th centuries. The burgeoning bourgeoisie wanted to develop capitalism and shake off feudal rule. The peasantry and handicraftsmen, on the verge of bankruptcy under the feudal yoke, waged one struggle after another against feudal and ecclesiastical rule.

In the ideological realm, the Renaissance at the time gave birth to many new ideas which assailed the decadent, reactionary rule of the church. Production was developing and navigation and the fixing of the calendar yielded a great store of astronomical know-

ledge. It was during this period that the Americas were discovered, that long sea voyages, which relied on the position of the heavenly bodies to determine the ships' location and course, compelled the advancement of the science of astronomy. All this laid the foundation for the Copernican theory of heliocentrism.

From 1496 to 1503, Copernicus was in Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance, where he came under the influence of the new ideas and became well-versed in mathematics, astronomy and medicine.

In March 1497, Copernicus observed the occultation of the star Aldebaran by the moon. This led him to surmise that the Ptolemaic hypothesis that the moon at its zenith was twice as far as during its first and last quarters was wrong.

Returning to Poland around 1503, Copernicus devoted most of his time to astronomical studies. With the optical telescope yet undiscovered, he made do with relatively simple wooden instruments. His assiduous observation of the celestial bodies enabled him to determine the positions in the movement of the sun, the moon and the five planets Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Saturn.

Probing deep into the various astronomical phenomena he had observed, Copernicus first of all analysed the position of the earth in the cosmos. He came to the conclusion that the rising of the sun, moon and stars daily in the east and their setting in the west showed the earth to be rotating on its own axis.

Adherents of the geocentric view had claimed that if the earth was rotating, then the air above the earth's surface and all matter floating in the air would have been left behind.

Copernicus forcefully repudiated this fallacy. The motion of the earth, he pointed out, is imperceptible to the people on it; all things above the earth, including the air and matter floating in the air, move along with the earth, and shall therefore not be left behind.

On the question of the earth's revolution around the sun, Copernicus searched for the inner links between various phenomena.

According to the Ptolemaic system, as he noted first of all in his studies, each revolution of the sun is one year, and the movement of each of the planets contains the factor of a one-year period. This year-long period reflects the inner link between the planets and the sun.

Copernicus further noted that the sun is perpetually moving eastwards from the west across the starry dome, while the movements of the planets are not so regular, going sometimes to the east, other times to the west, or stopping altogether.

Making an incisive analysis of these observations, Copernicus deduced that the change in the position of the object under observation could very well have arisen from three causes: the movement of the object, the movement of the observer, or the movement of both.

If the planets revolve around the sun, and the earth also revolves around the sun in a year's period, this will cause the movements of the other planets to appear to contain the one-year period factor. As the planets and the earth move around the sun with comparative regularity, the relative motion of the earth and the planets will make the movement of the planets appear irregular when observed from the earth.

This explained an important question which to the geocentric theory remained a riddle.

Thus, with the aid of mathematics Copernicus scientifically analysed a mass of observations and arrived at the heliocentric theory which convincingly demolished the geocentric view opposed to it.

A friend and disciple of Copernicus, Georg Joachim Rheticus strongly urged Copernicus to make public his theory. He gave his approval, and in 1539 *De libris revolutionum ... Nic. Copernici ... narratio prima* was published.

In 1543, the year of his death, Copernicus' immortal work *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri VI* came out. In this *magnum opus* of six volumes, Copernicus, basing himself on a wealth of observations, dealt in detail with the movement of the earth and other planets around the sun and expounded his heliocentric theory.

Its publication dealt a heavy blow to theology and brought about a momentous revolution in man's outlook on the universe. It proved that the earth is but an ordinary planet circling the sun, and thus toppled it from the pedestal of being the centre of the universe, where God was supposed to have placed it. Natural science, suffocated by religion and the idealist outlook on the universe for more than a thousand years, gained emancipation.

Engels had said of this: "The revolutionary act by which natural science declared its independence... was the publication of the immortal work by which Copernicus, though timidly and, so to speak, only from his death-bed, threw down the gauntlet to ecclesiastical authority in the affairs of nature. The emancipation of natural science from theology dates from this..." (*Dialectics of Nature*.)

Science had since marched forward with rapid strides.

### III

The Copernican theory developed in the struggle against the reactionary forces of the church. While *De revolutionibus* was in the press, the church had already reached out its talons. Martin Luther, the founder of the Protestant church, not only drove Rheticus, who propagated the new outlook on the universe, out of Nuremberg, but directly attacked Copernicus for standing astronomy on its head.

So he did. The Copernican theory actually did turn astronomy topsy-turvy. Frightened by its wide dissemi-

nation, the clergy proclaimed it "heresy" and banned Copernicus' works which were the targets of attack for a long time. His ideas were forbidden in many colleges in Europe and the disseminators of the Copernican theory were savagely hounded by the church. The struggle raged fiercely for three long centuries.

Among the many who disseminated the Copernican theory, Giordano Bruno was an eminent representative. He tirelessly spread the heliocentric view throughout Europe and boldly exposed the deceit practised by the church. Despite every persecution, he remained undaunted to the end and finally the church had to have him burnt at the stake. Bruno perished in the flames, but not the truth he had zealously propagated.

Later on Galileo, an ardent supporter of the Copernican theory in Italy, built a telescope. In early 1610, he trained his telescope on Jupiter and discovered to his surprise some wandering stars near this planet. He realized after close observation on succeeding nights that they were four satellites round Jupiter.

This again proved the fallacy of the geocentric theory that the earth was in the centre of the universe and all celestial bodies revolved around it. The satellites of Jupiter revolved around Jupiter, and Galileo regarded this as a miniature model of the solar system.

Thus the validity of the heliocentric theory was further borne out by the observations of the telescope.

In the autumn of his life Galileo was grilled in his sickbed by the Inquisitors for propagating the Copernican theory.

Copernicus' theory also developed in the struggle against erroneous views. Unable to find the stellar parallax, the astronomer Tycho Brahe began to doubt the heliocentric theory. He sought refuge in eclecticism by creating another planetary system. While adopting the new theory of Copernicus and admitting that all planets revolve around the sun, he retained the view of the geocentric theory of Ptolemy by asserting that the sun and the planets around it all revolve around the earth. He tried in this way to reconcile science with the Bible.

In 1725, the aberration of light was discovered by James Bradley of England. In the first half of the 19th century, the stellar parallax was detected. These two astronomical phenomena directly proved that the earth rotated around the sun and disproved Tycho's assertion, and more so his new planetary system, the product of eclecticism.

In early 17th century, the German astronomer Kepler analysed data obtained through extended observation and summed up the basic law of planetary motion. Later, on the basis of his predecessors' findings, Isaac Newton discovered the law of gravitation and expounded the question of planetary motion theoretically.

In the 40s of the 19th century, two astronomers not only deduced from the data provided by the heliocen-

tric theory the existence of a hitherto undiscovered planet but were actually able to determine its position in the cosmos. By 1846, this planet, Neptune, was duly discovered. Thus, the Copernican theory was completely borne out by facts.

In China, the spread of the heliocentric theory of Copernicus had a similarly tortuous course. Since ancient times, two different views of the earth had existed: one that it was static and the other that it was in motion. Towards the end of the 16th century, Jesuit priests from the West tried to lure and dupe the Chinese people with the theory of divine right. Though *De revolutionibus* had by then been published for 60 years, they still spread the idealist outlook of Ptolemy and Tycho on the universe and distorted and negated Copernicus' heliocentric theory.

Their preaching fell on the willing ears of representatives of China's feudal ruling class, who struck up the same tune. Juan Yuan of the Ching Dynasty attacked the heliocentric theory as "turning the world upside down, and confusing motion with stillness, going against dogma and creed." It was held up as something that "must not be given any credence."

Despite such obstructions from the reactionary classes, the revolutionary outlook on the universe could not be repressed. In 1859, Li Shan-lan and others criticized Juan Yuan's fallacy and faithfully reproduced the Copernican theory, starting off its spread in China.

The struggle over the Copernican theory in Europe and in China proves beyond a doubt that, however tortuous the road and difficult the struggle, science will overwhelm divine right and the materialist outlook on the universe will prevail over the idealist one.

The birth of the Copernican theory was a great victory of the materialist theory of knowledge. Copernicus lived in a time of great changes. He was stimulated by the development of navigation and the establishment of the calendar. He learnt from the astronomical and mathematical knowledge of the past. Most important of all, he personally made observations and came to grips with the essence of the astronomical phenomena he had observed. According to Copernicus himself, he devoted nearly "four times nine years" to observation and study. Without such persistent practice, it would have been impossible for him to have written his masterpiece.

With the deepening of practice, man's knowledge of the solar system is constantly reaching new heights. Man has gradually realized that the sun is not the centre of the universe, nor is it stationary in space. The sun, taking the whole planetary system along with it, whirls around the Milky Way. The Milky Way system and numerous other galaxies in the cosmos form a colossal celestial system with its own laws of movement and change. Man's knowledge of the universe is becoming richer and deeper, but the process of cognition is not ended, nor will it ever end.



# ROUND THE WORLD

## CAPITALIST WORLD

### Workers Strike

Inflation and impoverishment of the labouring people have recently resulted in strikes in many countries as workers pressed their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. The strikers also demonstrated their protest against unjustified dismissals and other measures of oppression against the working class.

**U.S.A.** More than 110,000 workers in the Chrysler Corporation, the third largest auto company in the United States, downed tools at midnight on September 14 to demand higher wages and better working conditions. The strike affected 35 Chrysler plants in 21 U.S. states and Canada. It brought production to a complete standstill and forced the capitalists to make concessions before work was resumed at midnight on September 23.

The strike broke out against the background of strong discontent of workers over rampaging inflation in the United States, shrinking real wages and the mandatory overtime work forced on them by the bosses.

**Britain.** September 19 saw a further growth of the strike of auto workers who demanded higher wages and protested against unwarranted lay-offs.

About 1,500 workers walked out that day at the American-owned Ford plant at Dagenham in strong protest against unjustified lay-offs. In one of the assembling plants of the American-owned Chrysler Corporation at Longbridge, Birmingham, work came to a stop as 7,000 workers struck that day. About 9,000 workers came out the same day at British Leyland for higher wages. This strike stopped production at the factory. Nearly 20,000 British workers were strikebound on September 19 at Britain's three major motor works.

**France.** Workers carried on their struggle in various forms to hit back

at the capitalists' plot to close down factories and sack workers.

Workers in the Lip Watch Company, the biggest watch-maker in France, began to take over their factory on April 17 this year because the capitalists decided to close down the plant and dismiss the workers. The bosses next decided on June 10 to stop payment of wages. The workers took over control of production on June 19, selling the watches they produced to get their pay and maintain their livelihood.

In the early hours of August 14, the police suddenly occupied the factory and drove the workers out. However, the workers did not knuckle under and they continued their struggle in various forms. On August 28, the first assemblies established and controlled by the workers themselves at Besancon began to turn out watches. On August 31, 800 Lip workers got their second pay since they managed the sales themselves.

The watch workers' struggle received wide support from other labouring people in France as well as in other countries. On August 22, over 500 workers in Geneva demonstrated to protest against the French police occupation of the Lip factory and to express solidarity with the Lip workers. They pointed out that the concentration of capital turns problems faced by workers of one country into problems faced by workers of all other countries.

**F.R.G.** On May 31 this year, 2,000 flight controllers commenced their nationwide go-slow struggle to demand more pay and improvement in their working conditions. Disregarding the authorities' threats of taking such actions as holding up wages, dismissals and legal proceedings, they had by September 7 continued their struggle for 100 days.

However, their just demands have still not been met. An announcement by the F.R.G. airline Lufthansa said that it had to cancel 12,400

inland flights as a result of the go-slow. Airports in Hannover and other places had to close for several days, greatly reducing the number of passengers.

**Japan.** The Japanese National Railway authorities recently announced disciplinary measures against large numbers of workers who had taken part in the spring struggle. This has aroused great indignation among the workers and since September 19 National Railway workers in Tokyo, Osaka and other places have simultaneously carried on a work-to-rule struggle beginning with the first shift that day. On the morning of September 20, a four-hour strike was staged in 50 places in the country. Members of the National Railway Locomotive Engineers' Union joined the work-to-rule struggle from zero hour on September 20.

On the evening of September 20, more than 10,000 members of the Japan National Railway Workers' Union and three other unions held a rally in Tokyo strongly demanding restoration of the right to strike to government employees and public corporation workers and protesting against inflation which is making the life of the workers and other people more and more difficult.

Close on the heels of this, the 50,000-strong National Railway Locomotive Engineers' Union on September 25 and 26 held a nationwide strike and work-to-rule struggle. At midnight on September 25, 170 workshops in Sapporo and other places simultaneously went on strike. Prior to the strike, members of this union staged a work-to-rule struggle which reduced the speed of trains on all National Railway lines by 20 per cent. The strike and work-to-rule struggle dealt a heavy blow to transport on Japan's National Railways.

The strike is the biggest since spring this year.

"SPARK" (SWEDEN)

### Soviet Revisionists Betray Cambodian People's Interests

"So long as it is to their interests, they [the Soviet leaders] are willing

to betray Cambodia's right to independence and freedom," said *Spark*, organ of the Communist Party of Sweden, in an article entitled "The Soviet Betrayal of Cambodia," published on September 21.

The article noted that so far the Soviet Union has not recognized the legal government of Cambodia — the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. The Soviet Union is helping U.S. imperialism, the article said, when it ignores the existence of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, denies the fact that this Government actually controls the Liberated Zone, or calls the war in Cambodia a quarrel between brothers. Furthermore, the Soviet Union let the Lon Nol clique set up an embassy in Moscow and has enlarged the staff of its embassy in Phnom Penh.

Since the Lon Nol clique staged the reactionary coup d'état in 1970, the article continued, the Soviet leaders have never believed that the Cambodian people can defeat U.S. imperialism and its puppets in Cambodia. They have given no support to the Cambodian people's struggle in order to avoid the risk of colliding with the United States.

One year after the coup, the U.S. lackeys have been driven into a small number of cities while the people's armed forces have liberated vast tracts of their homeland. In

these circumstances, the Soviet leaders have gone further in their betrayal of the interests of the Cambodian people.

The article pointed out, "Like all other imperialists, the Soviet leaders have underestimated the strength of the people. Whatever scheme the Kremlin and the White House may resort to, Cambodia is sure to win."

F.R.G.

### European Union by Joint Efforts

Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany Walter Scheel made a statement on September 13 on his government's European policy.

The statement made at the F.R.G. Bundestag says that the nine E.E.C. foreign ministers' meeting recently held in Copenhagen had "achieved a good result."

The "first achievement" of the Copenhagen meeting, the statement says, was that the nine nations were "determined to take action" to realize the goal of a European union before 1980 as set forth by the summit meeting of the nine E.E.C. countries last October. The statement adds that the nine nations agreed that what had been brought into being within the European Community through the Rome treaty and various decisions made thereafter must

not be altered. "Proceeding from this point we want to expand our political co-operation," the statement says.

The "second achievement" of the Copenhagen meeting, it continues, was that it had prepared the nine nations for "a far-reaching, constructive dialogue with the United States." It says, "We shall indicate to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that the policy of détente is an integral whole to the Atlantic allies. The whole world knows that we will not be divided from each other by others."

The "third achievement," it goes on, was that the nine nations now have a list of matters agreed on by them for negotiation with the United States. This is a comprehensive list including all important principles, goals and interests affecting the relations between the United States and Western Europe and between the East and the West, and co-operation among the industrial countries and between them and a third nation.

On the forthcoming second stage of the conference on security and co-operation in Europe and the talks on the mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe, the statement says, "Relaxation cannot come into being in a vacuum. It needs a climate in which everybody believes in the seriousness of the partner's intention for relaxation."

(Continued from p. 7.)

good neighbourly and friendly relations between the two countries in the past year. He said: We treasure the achievements we have made, but still more do we cherish hopes for the future. In the new circumstances we will, together with the Japanese people, and in line with the spirit of the Joint Statement of the Chinese and Japanese Governments, make new contributions to the further consolidation and development of the good neighbourly and friendly relations between our two countries

and to the strengthening of the friendship between our two peoples.

President Liao Cheng-chih stressed: The normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations and the development of the cause for Sino-Japanese friendship not only accord with the common desire of the two peoples, but are conducive to the improvement of the situation in Asia and the Pacific region. Therefore, they enjoy warm welcome from the people in Asia and the rest of the world who uphold justice and from impartial public opinion throughout the world.

But, he pointed out, there are certain people who do not like to see the development of the relations between China and Japan. They always, by overt and covert means, try to slander, disrupt and sabotage this development. We are sure that their schemes are doomed to failure. No force can obstruct the friendship between China and Japan!

In Tokyo, Japanese friends of various circles held a big cocktail party on the evening of September 29 in warm celebration of the first anniversary of the normalization of Japan-China relations. It was attended by 1,500 people.

## Iron and Steel Industry Makes Headway

**M**UCH progress has been made in the iron and steel industry in the 24 years since the founding of New China. By 1972, steel output had reached 23 million tons, a more than 140-fold increase over 1949. More steel was made in the first half of this year than in the corresponding period of last year.

In old China, invaded and enslaved by imperialism, large quantities of mineral resources were plundered and the bulk of the iron and steel needed was imported. In the 50 years from the last days of the feudal Ching Dynasty to the Kuomintang reactionary rule, China had produced only several million tons of steel in all.

After the colonial yoke imposed by the imperialists had been thrown off, New China, guided by the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism," has relied on its own efforts to build up an independent iron and steel industrial system.

In line with Chairman Mao's instruction that "it is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from only one," the initiative of both the central and local authorities has been brought into play in developing the iron and steel industry. And large, medium-sized and small enterprises have been built simultaneously in accordance with the policy of "walking on two legs."

In addition to the large iron and steel complexes in Anshan, Shanghai, Wuhan and Peking, there are a good number of medium-sized works, each with an annual capacity between 50,000 and 100,000 tons, and more than 430 small ones each producing over 1,000 tons annually. These are scattered in all parts of the country. In 1972, the steel output of these medium-sized and small enter-

prises represented 12 per cent of the country's total; that of iron, 27 per cent.

Special features of these plants are: They can make use of local mineral resources which are found in all parts of the country; investment required is relatively low, building-time short, returns quick; their products boost local agriculture and industry. This has resulted in evening out the distribution of iron and steel plants so that they are no longer irrationally concentrated in the coastal areas with none in the hinterland, as in old China.

Today China is producing over 1,000 varieties of steel, with over 20,000 specifications of rolled steel including those for use in making motor vehicles, tractors, heavy machinery, rails and rolling stock, petro-chemical equipment, precision meters and instruments as well as in the defence industry.

## More Chemicals

**B**Y the end of June this year, production quotas for 12 of the 13 major chemical products under the state plan had been fulfilled or over-fulfilled. Compared to the first half of 1965, the year preceding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, output of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and medicines increased 2.9-fold, 2.5-fold and 2.8-fold respectively and that of basic chemical raw materials such as sulphuric acid, concentrated nitric acid, caustic soda, soda ash and calcium carbide either doubled or multiplied. Much headway was made in the production of synthetic fibres, plastic resins and synthetic rubber which were not produced before liberation. The production of raw materials for synthetic fibres including terylene, orlon, vinylon and nylon 6 in the first half of this year more than quadrupled the total 1965 output.

The big chemical works continued to play a backbone role. At the same

time, in the various localities, the masses were mobilized to build many medium-sized and small enterprises by making full use of the available manpower, material and natural resources near by. At present, most of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have their own medium-sized and small factories making chemical fertilizers, insecticides, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, plastics and medicines. Half of the provinces and municipalities, where the chemical industry has developed more rapidly, are able to turn out several hundred to several thousand varieties of chemical products.

## Live-Line Operations In Wide Use

**O**NE fine afternoon in Peking's southern suburban fields two young lineswomen wearing special protective clothing climbed nimbly up a tall power pylon, nonchalantly entered a powerful electric field of 220,000 volts. With blue flames crackling from hands and feet, they deftly replaced a faulty porcelain insulator plate in five minutes flat.

These young women electricians from Anshan in the northeast were in Peking to take part in the national live-line operations demonstration organized by the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power. More than a hundred electricians from all over China were there to demonstrate 48 different live-line operations, including replacing faulty porcelain insulator plates, repairing high-tension power lines, replacing and re-siting power poles, inspection and repair of transmission and substation equipment and overall inspection and repair of circuit.

In all but a few regions, live-line operations are being extensively used, their scope extending from circuit maintenance and inspection and repair to changing whole circuits and from power lines to substations. In some places in the south successful trials have been carried out during rainy days and the electric bureau of Anshan has introduced an advanced method called "free live-line operations."

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